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# THE AMERICAN

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### THE AMERICAN.

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#### CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.  
Free Coinage of Gold and Silver.  
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.  
Opposition to Trusts.  
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.  
Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, i. e., The Initiative and Referendum.

#### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

ARE WE treating the Cubans fairly, are we according to them their just rights or are we acting towards them in a way to give them good cause to regard us with suspicion? We made war upon Spain with the avowed purpose of liberating Cuba, we disclaimed all idea of annexation. We did not recognize the Cuban Republic as now constituted, we did not, for President McKinley had grave doubts as to the real place held by the revolutionary government, doubts that that government was

recognized by Cubans generally and he was resolved that the United States should not recognize a government in Cuba that was not willingly recognized by the Cubans themselves, that found recognition from the great body of Cubans only under the stress of necessity, that might be sustained not by love for it in the hearts of the people but by fear, that might rest on the strong arm of the militant and organized few not upon the voluntary consent of the governed. But the Congress of the United States in making war upon Spain did solemnly pledge the American people to free the Cuban people from Spanish rule that they might build up a free and independent government, might rear up a republic, build a democratic government resting upon the consent of the governed, a government that would be the choice of Cubans, that would be recognized by Cubans, and when such free government was established we pledged ourselves to recognize it, pledged ourselves to recognize Cuba as a sister Republic, to recognize her as a new member of the proud galaxy of American Republics and as one of that galaxy extend to her our protection against foreign aggression, against any attempt of Spain or any other European government to establish its sovereignty over Cuba or to transplant the monarchical system to Cuban soil.

SUCH was our promise to the Cuban people, a promise to free Cuba that a republican form of government might be upreared, that the Cubans might freely choose their rulers, might govern themselves for their own benefit and a promise, as soon as a firm government was upreared upon the consent of the governed, to recognize such government and leave Cuba to work out her destiny. The present revolutionary government may show itself to be such a government, may show that it governs by the consent of the governed and then, recognized by the Cuban people, it will be our bounden duty to so also recognize it.

Before the outbreak of our war with Spain there were many who declared that the revolutionary government had shown itself to be such a government and so urged the recognition of the Cuban Republic as then constituted. But Mr. McKinley was far from convinced that the revolutionary government was really a government resting upon the consent of the governed, he was inclined to the belief that it did not govern at all save in a military sense, that a civil government was not a reality, that the taxes of the Cuban Republic were nothing more than arbitrary military exactions, that its rule was not generally recognized by Cubans, that there was in fact no government in Cuba resting upon the consent of the governed, that outside of the towns occupied by Spanish troops there was no government worthy of the name, that there was in fact but a rule of anarchy throughout the island and so recognition of the Cuban Republic was withheld and the promise made that that recognition would be given as soon as a government resting upon the consent of the governed was built up or proven to exist.

WITH such promise we made war upon Spain for the liberation of Cuba. Never doubting that our intentions were what we



avowed them to be, the Cubans hailed us as their liberators. Should they now come to regard our avowed intentions with suspicion, should they come to believe that the war we are making on Spain means not their liberation but simply a change of masters, of Americans for Spanish, it would be a grave misfortune. For long years have their Spanish masters despoiled them of the earnings of their labor and kept them poor, for long years have they longed for the opportunity to govern themselves, longed to be their own masters that they might rule themselves for their own benefit. Their experience with foreign masters is not such as to incline them to look for relief to a change of masters. They look for relief to freedom from all foreign masters, to independence. And this we have promised to give to them, we doubt not that the intention of President McKinley is to keep this promise in good faith, we doubt not that it will be kept.

But some Cubans have become fearful that this promise will be disregarded, that the war will not end in their liberation but in a change of masters. And so fearing, or rather as a protest against certain acts of General Shafter that some Cubans hold to be out of accord with the spirit of our promises, General Garcia, at the head of the Cubans in Santiago province, has declared by his acts, if not by his words, that he will no longer co-operate with the American forces for the expulsion of the Spaniards, that he will henceforth fight the Spaniards and for Cuban independence without regard to what we may do. We wish him all luck until he may be placated, come to see that he does us a wrong and again offer to co-operate with our forces.

BUT what have we done at which Cubans can justly take offense, what have we done to give ground for their fear that we will disregard our promise to recognize the Republic of Cuba as soon as a Republic resting upon the consent of the governed may be reared up? Those things that have given offense are certain acts of Shafter during the ceremony of the surrender of Santiago, and afterwards in relation to the government of the city. And first is the complaint that in the surrender of Santiago the Republic of Cuba was not recognized, that the flag of Cuba was not raised over Santiago along with the Stars and Stripes. But this Cubans could not fairly expect, for the United States has not officially recognized the Republic of Cuba as now constituted and for the oft expressed reason that President McKinley is not satisfied that the revolutionary government is freely recognized and looked up to as their government by the masses of Cubans. The government we stand pledged to recognize is the government built up upon the consent of the governed after the establishment of peace and when all inhabitants of Cuba may have full opportunity to give free expression to their will. If the present government devolve as that government, then it shall be recognized, if it does not so devolve, it shall not, for in justice to ourselves we cannot recognize a Republic that does not rest upon the consent of the governed.

All this intelligent Cubans should have understood and to men professing a firm belief in democratic government it should have been perfectly satisfactory. Moreover it is not the province of a major-general of the United States army to recognize that which his government has not. If General Shafter had given official recognition to the Republic of Cuba by demanding the surrender of Santiago in the name of the United States and the Republic of Cuba and by raising the Cuban flag over the city side by side with the Stars and Stripes he would have laid himself open to reprimand.

IN THE second place General Garcia does complain or by some busy-body is put in the position of complaining, that he was not invited to witness the ceremony of the surrender, that neither he nor his army was honored, that the Cubans had not been given credit for the part they took in the capture of Santiago that was their due. But such complaint, if made, was wholly unwarranted

as appears from the courteous and even tempered letter written by General Shafter in response to the note credited to General Garcia in which the noted Cuban set forth his determination to cease to co-operate with the American forces and his reasons therefor. Thus it appears that General Shafter, with all due formality, invited General Garcia to accompany him into Santiago to witness the surrender, which invitation, General Garcia, already somewhat piqued, declined because the flag of Cuba was not to be raised along with the flag of the United States and Shafter further replies to Garcia that "full credit has been given you and your valiant men in my report to my Government."

THE most worthy ground of protest made by General Garcia is, however, that the officers of the civic government, men who were officers under Spanish sovereignty, were not at once removed from their positions when Santiago was surrendered. These officers, General Garcia pointed out, were not elected by the Cuban people but were appointees of the Spanish crown. But to have summarily removed these officers would have been to have left the surrendered territory without civil officers, redoubled the difficulties of military government, clogged business in the custom house left without experienced hands to attend to the rush of business coming with the opening of the port, clogged the wheels of government, hindered the return of business activity and of non-combatants to their occupations at a most inopportune time.

Just as soon as order is brought out of chaos and a free and fair expression of the wishes of the people of Santiago province and city can be taken elections will doubtless be ordered for the choosing of various civil officials, and to the men thus chosen the present office holders, appointees of the Spanish crown, will be forced to give way. And so to strictly appointive places Cubans and Americans will be doubtless appointed to take the places of the Spanish appointees as fast as efficient men can be found. But to remove the present civil officers while they attend to their business and obey orders, remove them before other men are duly chosen by election or appointment to fill their places would be folly. Unless we would summarily check all business we must continue to make use of the custom house and other machinery of civil government used by the Spaniards, must temporarily continue in office officials who held place under the Spanish sovereignty until we can provide and perfect a new machinery in its place, until new officials can be chosen in place of the old.

BUT here let it be said that there is no certainty that the complaints and protests accredited to General Garcia are genuine. Indeed it appears that the letter which was sent to General Shafter as coming from General Garcia and that was received by Shafter as genuine and answered as such was the composition of a newspaper correspondent, and it is by no means certain that General Garcia ever saw or approved the epistle that has made so much commotion and done so much to hurt the Cubans. However this may be it seems most probable that a newspaper correspondent embittered for some reason against General Shafter, and impelled by that high-minded purpose "of getting even," was at the bottom of much of the trouble and ill-feeling. Indeed it is not at all certain but that the Garcia letter is quite on a par with the report of a battle between Garcia and his disgruntled Cubans and a Spanish force marching to Santiago to surrender to the United States forces under the terms of General Toral's capitulation, a battle that was pure fiction. But though an embittered newspaper correspondent may have fanned and then magnified the rupture between General Garcia and the Americans it is an undoubted fact that General Garcia has withdrawn his Cubans to the interior, which gives color for the belief that he harbored much the same thoughts and acted upon much the same reasons



as appeared in the letter to Shafter credited to him, but which it is now asserted, with great positiveness, was the adroit work of a correspondent who thereby scored a questionable journalistic hit and vented some spleen against Shafter.

And here let us add that several over-zealous newspaper men who have let their ardor get the better of the proprieties of their position, have come into collision with Shafter. Thus several New York *Journal* men with commendable ardor but little judgment, busied themselves with the pasting up of posters illustrating the destruction of the *Maine*, calculated to play upon the passions of the Spaniards, a most impressionable people, and excite trouble and incidentally advertising the *Journal*. These posters were promptly torn down by order of General Shafter and the offending journalists deported. This too has been the fate of a correspondent of the New York *World*, Sylvester Scovel, who had a personal altercation with General Shafter. It will be no more than natural if the journalists thus deported give way to the writing of bitter and unwarranted tirades upon General Shafter. We must take such writings at their worth.

SOME people persist in drawing a parallel between the attitude of France towards the United States in 1778-82 and that of the United States towards Cuba in 1898, and ask what our forefathers would have thought and done if the British at Yorktown had surrendered to the French and the French had taken possession of the town, raised the tricolor and forbidden the occupation of the town by the Americans or the raising of the Stars and Stripes over it? It is not very difficult to tell what our forefathers would have thought and done. They would have charged the French with breach of treaty and rightly, they would have demanded the prompt evacuation of Yorktown by the French, and in event of failure to comply would doubtless have regarded and treated the French as their enemies.

But there is no parallel between Yorktown and Santiago. To begin with, the French had recognized the United States of America as an independent power, they had made a solemn treaty of alliance whereby they were drawn into war with Great Britain and they bound themselves to make no peace until Britain recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies. Moreover, it was not for love of the thirteen colonies that France espoused their cause, it was from hate of Britain; she espoused the cause of the colonies because they could render her most efficient help in weakening the power, checking the growth, doing injury to her most hated rival.

So it is seen that the position of the French towards America in 1778-82 was very different from the position of the Americans towards Cuba to-day. France helped America to injure Britain; America fought Spain to help Cuba, not for hate of Spain. France wanted our help to down her hated rival and an alliance was entered into between old monarchical France and new republican America, an alliance between the old monarchy and the new republic on a plan of equality.

But our position towards Cuba is very different. We did not want the help of the Cubans to down any rival of ours, we espoused the cause of the Cubans for their sake, not ours, we made no alliance with them, we did not recognize any government in Cuba, but contented ourselves with the declaration that Cuba is and of right ought to be free, that as soon as a government shall be established and freely recognized as deriving its powers from the consent of the governed, we shall recognize such government.

THROUGH the French minister to the United States, Spain has sued for peace. Last Tuesday the French minister called at the White House on this mission for a sister nation. That he called at the request of the Spanish Government to discuss terms of peace is officially announced. Whether he called to offer

certain concessions on behalf of Spain, to offer certain cessions of territory, surrenders of sovereignty and an indemnity such as Spain is willing to make to end the war, or whether he called to ask what terms the United States would grant or perhaps simply to urge an armistice as a preliminary to the discussion of peace proposals we are not told though we have many opinions of correspondents. If the latter, President McKinley's answer should in effect be: "We can talk peace and fight at the same time," and doubtless will be. An armistice would doubtless be gladly agreed to by Spain, but to General Miles and his army just having successfully landed in Puerto Rico and with the island a prey before them it would be most unwelcome. It would merely serve to stop our armies on the threshold of a campaign in Puerto Rico so carefully laid out and the preliminary steps of which have been so successfully carried out that it is scarcely possible to conceive of anything short of complete success.

To us, an armistice would be a check in a victorious campaign and in the midst of such a campaign we cannot in justice to our soldiers call a halt—cannot unless there is to be peace and the halt to be permanent. To call a mere temporary halt in the campaign, to stop the roll of the ball of victory would be for us nothing less than criminal for to start that ball in motion again would in all probability cost many lives, much effort, much energy that would be saved if the ball of victory once rolling was kept rolling by ruthlessly pressing upon the defeated enemy until forced to surrender.

IF SPAIN is ready to make the concessions reported, namely, surrender Cuba and Puerto Rico, there should be little difficulty, little delay, in settling upon terms of peace. True, Spain asks the restitution of the Philippines and this we cannot grant for we do not possess them. Our army occupies but a little territory, our fleet has Manila at its mercy. Our fleet and our troops we might withdraw but this would not result in a restitution of the islands to Spanish rule. They are now under the control of the rebels under Aguinaldo. Should we withdraw he would still be in control, the Spaniards only holding Manila. Of course the loss of our moral support might have disastrous results upon his forces, lead to their disintegration and give the Spaniards in Manila the opportunity to reassert their sovereignty over the islands.

But it is not likely that Aguinaldo's forces would disintegrate or that the Spaniards now besieged in Manila could make successful resistance unless reinforced from home. And Spain is hardly in position to send reinforcements. It must not be forgotten that the rebels are much better armed to-day and stronger than when the Spanish put them down by great military effort, many promises of reform and not a little bribing a few months ago. And Spain is now much weaker than then. Therefore it seems hardly likely that, unaided, she could reassert her sovereignty over the islands.

What then could she do? Perhaps call upon Germany to interfere and put the rebellion down for her ceding to Germany in payment for her services several of the islands after which she hankers much. But interference by Germany would almost surely lead to interference by the other powers all of which, if Germany was to get anything, would demand an equivalent. Thus would Spain lose possession of the islands, thus would they become the pickings of the European powers.

The cheapest and wisest thing for Spain to do is to surrender her sovereignty over the Philippines. In brief, the claim Spain holds to the Philippines is worthless and she might as well give it up. It is hard to believe that determination to hold on to this valueless claim will stand in the way of peace.

SHOULD Spain surrender this claim to us she would hand over with it a peck of troubles that we are not over-anxious to



have to solve. Yet it is most probable that we could solve them with less trouble than anyone else. To begin with, we could encourage the up-building of a native republic in the Philippines. And in this we would doubtless succeed. So thinks Admiral Dewey, and in his ability to form a fair opinion we have all confidence. He has expressed his opinion to the Navy Department that the insurgents of the Philippines are more capable of self-government than the insurgents of Cuba. So we do not doubt that a native republic could be built that would give a fairly stable government and that no nation could justly find fault with, though nations doubtless would if we did not stand behind the republic as a protecting power.

How the powers of Europe would look upon our taking the Philippines and instead of annexing them build up self government in them and acknowledge them as independent under our protection is, of course, a question. It is asserted that the continental powers have arrived at an agreement with regard to the Philippines and will not allow the islands to be annexed to the United States. The building of a republic in the islands under our tutelage might be regarded differently, though there is slim hope, for it is said that the continental powers of Europe have come to a further agreement that they will not consent to an Anglo-American protectorate. But we would like to know what they would do about it if such protectorate was formed. We fancy they would do anything but fight, that there would be no European interference in the Philippines, that they would permit the inhabitants of the Philippines to work out their destiny, permit their republic to stand unassailed.

BUT after all is not this united Europe a sort of a harmless bugaboo? We hear of a united Europe agreeing to do this and to do that but when the time comes for action it is almost invariably discovered that the agreement is regarded very lightly, that there is hesitation in the concert somewhere, consequent delay and finally no action. The interests of the continental powers are so diverse that an agreement built on the only solid basis, a community of interests, is almost an unknown quantity. They are indeed bound together by a sort of consuming jealousy of our growth into a world power that bids fair to outstrip them all. But after all this is little more than a sentiment and not a solid basis upon which to build a general opposition to our expansion. Whenever we cross the path of any European power, the others will stand aloof from her unless their own paths, their own interests, are assailed at the same time. Thus have they left Spain to stand and fall alone.

What is more to the point, whenever a question arises in which all the powers have more or less interest, united Europe does not cut a pretty figure in standing forth to meet it but dissolves like a myth. Diverse interests crop out, the powers pull away from each other, not together, and the bottom drops out of the agreements for concerted action. Talk comes cheap and while the powers are only called upon to talk and protest, there is great unison, but when the time comes when they must back up their words by fighting, when they are called upon to fight, to make sacrifices for the protection of interests other than their own, united Europe falls to pieces. So we believe it would be with regard to the Philippines, should the situation come to the point where the world would have to tolerate our establishing a protectorate over the islands or fight to prevent.

SUPPOSE, however, Spain clings tenaciously to her shadow of sovereignty in the Philippine islands, that our insistence on the surrender of such sovereignty stands in the way of peace, promises to bring peace negotiations at this time to naught and lead to a prolongation of the war through some indefinite period. What then is our duty? Is it our duty to prolong the war for the liberation of the Philippines? And if so, how much blood and treasure are we bound to spend in pursuit of this object?

To play the role of liberator in the Philippines, play it in the old world as in the new has its attractions no doubt. But so too it has its dangers, and our first duty is to ourselves. It is grandly magnificent to play the role of the liberator of mankind the world over, but it is our first duty to liberate our own people from the oppressions that burden them. Let us perfect ourselves before undertaking to perfect the world, let us have a care that we are not ourselves enslaved while spending our efforts to liberate other peoples. Let us confine ourselves to our own hemisphere for the present, let us keep in mind that before the present war no one harbored the thought that it was our duty to liberate the Philippines. To liberate Cuba, yes, that was a duty, for the Spanish rule of the sixteenth century at our doors was not only a blotch on our civilization, but a brake upon our own prosperity and advancement, a block to the happiness of our people.

IT IS true the war has brought new duties and obligations. But has it put us under obligations to the people of the Philippines? On the contrary it has put those now struggling for liberation from Spanish misrule under obligation to us. The destruction of the Spanish fleet in Manila harbor, and the consequent demoralization among the Spanish, made it possible for Aguinaldo and other insurgent leaders to reawaken the slumbering rebellion, and make it stronger than ever before. Thus we have given those in the Philippines and struggling for liberation from Spanish rule a new start. Having given them a new start must we stand behind them until they succeed, or may we fairly leave them to fight out their own battle for liberation without further assistance from us?

As we have said we cannot make restitution of the Philippines to Spain, for they are not in our control. If they were we would never consent to restitution, for we could not in justice to ourselves sell a people back into slavery, make ourselves a party to the re-establishment of Spanish tyranny and misrule.

By all laws of justice and honor we are forbidden to exert ourselves to put the inhabitants of the Philippines back under Spanish rule. This no one will question. But how far must we exert ourselves, how much blood must we spill to prevent the Spaniards reconquering the people of the Philippines, if they can? In strict justice we are not required to spill a drop, no more than we were before the war. The war has put the Philippine insurgents under obligation to us for destroying many of their enemies, it has put us under no obligations to them.

OVER the dispatch of that part of the Puerto Rico expedition that assembled at Santiago de Cuba under command of General Miles there was very considerable delay. And this was a rather serious matter for it kept the troops, to say nothing of the horses that had embarked at Tampa for Santiago but were not unloaded, cooped up for an unnecessary length of time on ship-board greatly to the detriment of health. This delay Miles blamed on Sampson and Sampson on Miles, the trouble seeming to be that Miles insisted on having a larger convoy for the transports, and a larger naval force to cover the landing than acting Admiral Sampson thought necessary. Finally the President cut the knot by peremptorily ordering Sampson to detail the convoy desired. And on top of this Secretary Long of the Navy, gave out a statement blaming Miles for the delay and which amounted to nothing less than an unseemly and uncalled for criticism of the President's order for an increase of the convoy, the statement given out at the Navy Department being that Sampson had furnished ample convoy "that there certainly has been no lack of naval assistance," that "if General Miles preferred to wait the delay was his own."

And to cap all we have had the Secretaries of War and Navy wrangling and finding fault with each other, tiring the country, bringing discredit on the Administration by their



bickerings. And yet neither Long or Alger has the decency to resign. Perhaps each thinks the other ought.

IN summing up the business situation on Monday last, the Philadelphia *Press* rather gloomily remarks :

"The distinct pause which has come in business is variously explained, but of its existence there can be no question whatever. The stock market is dull, in spite of much advice to buy stocks. Grain speculation has ceased. Textile weeklies publish pages of interviews to explain the dull market. Boot and shoe shipments to-day only equal those of 1895. The iron and steel trade, while very large, is a tenth less than it was three months ago. With loanable capital very cheap, exports large and imports small, no activity is apparent at any point.

"Cereals must average lower for the next year, and cotton probably will. Woolen manufacture has not met the boom it anticipated, and both wool and woollens are readjusting prices. In cotton a permanently lower level has been reached and both the capitalization and profits of mills have to be adjusted to it."

Thus business halts, but the *Press*, taking a glance at the figures of our foreign trade, cheerfully but rather illogically concludes that "a great tide of prosperity is certain."

Also summing up the situation, and on the same day, the Philadelphia *Inquirer* says :

"Business still waits the shaping up of the new trade year. We have large crops in prospect, but they are not made; we expect to get good prices for cereals, but the basis of value has not yet been determined; we expect the demoralization in railroad rates will be ended shortly, but the machinery for ending it is not yet visible; we hope for an expansion in manufacturing, but the immediate tendency seems to be in the other direction, and, finally, we look for peace with Spain, which, however, is not yet in clear sight."

#### ON TO CINCINNATI.

TWO WEEKS may bring mighty changes, suffice to bring life where there was inertia, give the promise of success to a movement seemingly destined to failure, fan the flickering flames of despairing protest into hopeful revolution. Two weeks ago, after a candid review of passing events, we felt impelled to announce that the disapproval of the call for the Cincinnati convention by Texas Populists and the lack of energetic response by others rendered futile the movement for the holding of a National Convention of the Peoples party this year, a movement upon which we based great hopes for the revivification of the Peoples party, upon the success of which we felt depended the future success of the Peoples party, the question of whether the party should live, or die by absorption into the Democratic party, die the death of fusion that so many parties of reform have died in the past. With keen regret we announced that the response of Populists to the call of the National Organization Committee for a convention of the Peoples party to meet in Cincinnati, September 5, was such that no representative convention could then be held. The prevailing sentiment of Populists seemed to be set against the holding of such convention, seemed to be one of determination to abide by the so-called anti-fusion Omaha compact, or of indifference to the movement for the revivification of the Peoples party, culminating in the call for such convention, an indifference bred of despair.

Briefly, the current of sentiment was set against the holding of a national convention in September to declare the independence of the Peoples party. It was declared by leading Texas Populists who had been in attendance on the Populist conferences held in Omaha in mid-June that continued dependence upon the Democratic party and an engulfing of the Peoples had been guarded against by the resolutions adopted by the National Committee at that time, while other leading Populists, seeing that those resolutions were meaningless while fusionists were left in control of the national machinery of the party to interpret them, knowing that Chairman Butler had broken them scarce they were taken and feeling that the only hope of preserving the independence of the Peoples party was to choose true Populists in place of fusionists

to guard over its interests, despaired and drew back from throwing themselves energetically into the movement for the Cincinnati convention when they witnessed the course taken by the Populist press of Texas that had ever been so foremost and uncompromising in standing against fusion and for the life of the Peoples party. So it was that through active opposition to the Cincinnati convention by those lulled into false security by anti-fusion pledges taken at Omaha but already broken, and seeming indifference and lack of approving response from others, the movement for a national convention of the Peoples party to be held this year appeared to be doomed to failure.

But two weeks have brought a change. Non-action by leading Populists not blinded by the Omaha resolutions has given place to action; where there was seeming indifference to the call for the Cincinnati convention there is now warm approval and energetic response while a feeling of doubt and unrest appears among Texans who had brought themselves to the belief, shared by few or no Populists elsewhere, that a substantial victory for straight Populism had been won before the National Committee at Omaha even though the fusionists had out-voted the straight Populists on every roll-call. Thus the current of sentiment seemingly set against the movement for the Cincinnati convention has turned. Such honored Populist leaders as Watson of Georgia and Donnelly of Minnesota have spoken in all earnestness for the Cincinnati convention. From Binyon of Texas, as editor of three influential Populist papers the *Wise County Reformer*, *Graphic Truth* and *The Review* comes the cry: On to Cincinnati and to victory. Suffice it to say that if there had been this response two weeks ago we would not have written that "the response of Populists to the call of the National Organization Committee is such that no convention can be held at Cincinnati on September 5th next."

That Convention seemingly doomed to failure two weeks ago, because of lack of response to the call, is to-day by no means an assured success. But two weeks have brought a check to the current running adversely to the holding of such convention, a turn to the indifference. Two weeks more may bring a revolution.

Two weeks ago we felt impelled in justice to our readers, entitled to know the truth, and to ourselves, whose bounden duty it is to tell the truth to directly announce that the response to the call for the Cincinnati Convention was such as to presage the failure of the movement for the holding of a National Convention this year. We tersely announced our summing up of the situation in the words: "No Cincinnati Convention." But the situation has changed. The response has come back to us: "On to Cincinnati! On to victory!" Let it then be onward, let there be no faltering, let there be no cessation in the fight for the rebuilding of the Peoples Party as an independent party, the uplifting of true democracy, the salvation of our Republic until victory is won or we sink from exhaustion unable to rise again. Let us resolve at Cincinnati, whether we be few or many, to devote our lives to this work, this cause, the promotion of which necessitates great sacrifices. We for one stand ready to go to Cincinnati with such resolve, to accept the sacrifices that its taking may involve with cheerfulness, to devote ourselves to the work of upraising and protecting a true democracy, wherein all men will have equal opportunities, special privileges be unknown; to dethroning money and crowning man, crowning him with the blessings, the comforts, the happiness to be attained under a rule of liberty, equality, fraternity.

Writing in the *Peoples Party Paper* of July 22nd, Harvey Howard, one of the editorial staff, makes this unequivocal announcement, emphasizing it by the use of bold face type:

"Georgia will be at Cincinnati, though she stands alone and deserted by every other straight Populist state which sent



delegates to Nashville and recognized allegiance to the Reorganization Committee selected by that convention."

Fellow Populists! can we stand unmoved by this appeal, can we leave Georgia to stand alone, unaided, to uphold the banners of true Populism, desert her in the fight she is so heroically making to save the Peoples party, not alone for herself, but for you and us from absorption into the Democratic party? For our part we will stand by her, if need be fall with her, stand by her in her battle for the life of true Populist principles and against fusion, well knowing that fusion of the Peoples party with the Democratic party would mean a strengthening of the power of the moneyed oligarchy, the destruction of the only party that that oligarchy now fears. Nor can we doubt that in the end Populism will rear its head above all its enemies for the fair principles of Populism must be recognized unless true democracy itself is to perish, unless progress is to be retarded, happiness and advancement be forbidden to mankind and this can never be. A beneficent Creator never ruled it so. Peoples may throw away their advantages, may disregard the rule of justice and equality and fraternity and so destroy their civilization, bring merited punishment upon themselves but as only those peoples who observe this rule can succeed such rule must live, the principles of Populism cannot perish from the face of the earth though they may from a country that sins against God's law. And surely a people so blessed by their heritage as the American and of such superior intelligence can not be fated to this punishment. Therefore we fight for Populism and the life of the Peoples party with hopefulness. We resolve to stand by Georgia in her fight, fall with her if need be, but we do not believe that this need be will come to pass.

In the words of Thomas E. Watson, in the *Peoples Party Paper* of last week, we believe that "the Populist principles are essentially those of toiling millions everywhere and in all ages, and the battle of the few against the many will not end" until right triumphs over might; that "Populism has much to say that the world must hear, must heed, must obey," that Populism cannot die. But we quote in full what Mr. Watson has to say only omitting that which is personal to ourselves:—

"The fusion Boa, proceeding at its leisure to swallow the Populist goat, will soon be in a position to fall into the snooze of digestion—if we don't watch out.

"We need not remind our readers again that Fusion, as a policy, is simply the auction block. You fetch your goods to market and you sell to the highest bidder. You want office—that's all you want. You sell to Democracy in one state and to Republicanism in another. In North Carolina you are peculiarly happy—you can sell to both parties, cheat both.

"In most states Fusion at best is milk. In North Carolina it is milk, butter, clabber, cream and good white cheese. But while all this is luxury to the office getters of Fusion Populism it is death to the principles of the party. It has saddened, disheartened and disgusted the thousands of honest reformers who broke away from both the old parties and sought to found a party free of the crimes of both. A magnificent army of nearly two millions has melted away.

"There is no enthusiasm—how could there be? How can men grow earnest over the paltry dickerings of the spoilsmen? Populists who have labored tirelessly in the cause, spent their time and their money and their talent to speed it onward, hang back in disgust when they are asked to walk up on the one hand and fuse with Democrats, and on the other with Republicans. They hang their heads in shame, and being unable to prevent the sell-out manipulated by their leaders, they stay at home, "work harder and talk less"—and let the mad world wag its way.

"Populism as a principle is not dead; in the nature of things cannot die; and will after awhile arise once more, stronger from its sleep and to the confusion of the traitors who have sold it to its death.

"Populism, reduced to its last analysis, is the doctrine upon which this Republic was founded, and by which it must live. If the Republic is to endure, Populism is here to stay.

"The newspaper organs of plutocracy are boasting of the fact that the war with Spain has put an end to the dangers of Populism. They believe that economic issues are absorbed for at least this generation, and there is ground for the belief. "Free Silver" is already a forgotten cry, bonds no longer to be dreaded, and Bryan has wilted into the uniform of a prairie-grass colonel.

"But the Populist principles are essentially those of toiling millions everywhere and in all ages, and the battle of the many against the few will not end with the close of the Spanish war. Populism has much to say that the world must hear, must heed, must obey. It will come again!

"The fusionist is the feeble and somewhat nasty insect of the hour. Populism is a tree of the ages. The insect-parasite may indeed destroy the tree, but it cannot destroy the creative principle which destroys it.

"I feel so assured of this fact that I contemplate with amused contempt the efforts of the hireling fusionists to entomb our party. They may skip back and forth, dance attendance here and yonder, tell lies by the car load to whoever will listen and sell themselves for whatever little office they can get, but my faith is strong that the game will not last always and the people's wrath, waxing hot at so much betrayal and debasement of principle, will again demand a new party in such tones that no denial can be offered."

And then with all emphasis Mr. Watson concludes this declaration of his faith in the triumph of Populism with these words to Populists who would save their party:

"As strongly as I know how, I advise our people to send delegates to the September National Convention.

"The sooner we demonstrate our purpose to have no fusion in ours, the sooner Populism will benefit by the encouragement we give it."

But this is not all that we find in the *Peoples Party Paper*. It merely leads up to the call to arms that follows it and appearing over the name of Harvey Howard. From this we have already quoted, but we cannot do better than reproduce it in full. It is given under the caption:

#### "Will Texans Retreat?"

"And now comes the news that certain national executive committee-men, who met immediately following the Omaha meeting and put out a call for all true Populists to meet in National Convention on Sept. 5th, have petitioned Chairman Milton Park to withdraw the call.

"Among these, strange to say, stand Texas and Kentucky, the others petitioning being members from Arkansas, Michigan and Illinois.

"What does this mean?

"Will Texas Populists who voted solidly in the referendum ballot calling a July 4 convention stand by the action of their committeemen when the state convention assembles on July 27?

"Will Texas be led into ratifying the Omaha compact which practically left Butler as completely the master of the party as he was before?

"The Georgia State Convention in March, boldly and defiantly answered to the world 'we are without a national chairman' and called on the national committee to 'remedy the evil.' The July 4 convention was endorsed and delegates were elected amid enthusiasm.

"Entrusted with the sacred duty of representing the TRUE sentiment of the Populists of Georgia, General Phillips joined in the call for the Cincinnati Convention.

"Returning home his action was endorsed by the full state executive committee and her delegates instructed to go to Cincinnati.

"Georgia will be at Cincinnati, though she stands alone and deserted by every other straight Populist state which sent delegates to Nashville and recognized allegiance to the Reorganization Committee selected by that Convention.

"By whose authority do these representatives now come forward and petition for a withdrawal of the call recently sent out for Sept. 5th? In Kentucky, the July 4 convention was endorsed by the state convention and delegates elected to carry out the work of reorganization. Shall her committeemen set at naught the wishes of the party? Shall Texas, the grand old rallying ground for reformers retreat under fire?

"Will Texans in state convention, after the positive instructions to her delegates to the Nashville Convention and later on her large referendum vote for the Convention permit the party to be dangled about by the executive committeemen, who having called for the Cincinnati Convention now desire its withdrawal?

"God Forbid!

"No! The fine Italian hand of the fusionist can again be traced in this latest move. The much lauded "compact" between the middle-roads and the Butlerites is too palpable a fraud to be swallowed by any Populist with ordinary perception. Clever as it was "our boys" would not take the bait while in Omaha, but spoke out for Cincinnati and true organization—not the child's play that has been going on since the Nashville conference.

"Is co-operation, fusion under a mask, to be the shibboleth by which Populism in grand old Texas is to be shattered and wrecked? One party to that treacherous "compact" continues now to openly and officially recommend and urge through his paper co-operation. How long will it be before the other party to said contract will be bound to the wheels of this chariot of destruction?

"Populists of Texas! Georgia has lined up for Cincinnati. She will be



there ready to battle for the life of true Populist principles. Will your delegates be there?"

What will the response of Texans be to this? Georgians go forward, will Texans retreat? A few days ago Texans were seemingly in full retreat. But now a vigorous determination to return to the charge, a chagrin that they should have been temporarily turned from the work of preserving the independence of the Peoples party by promises, made on behalf of Chairman Butler, that that independence would be safe in his hands, promises only made to serve a purpose, lull the straight Populists into inactivity, and then to be broken, is apparent.

That this change of sentiment will be rapid enough and complete enough to insure a full representation of Texas at the Cincinnati convention we very much doubt. The state convention of the Peoples party of Texas was to meet this week. What, if any action it took upon the call for the Cincinnati convention we do not, at this writing, know. There may have been response to the call, response to the appeal of Georgia and the selection of delegates to represent Texas at Cincinnati. In that event Texas will, of course, be fully represented. But though the Texas convention may have failed to do this, failed to endorse the Cincinnati call and urge the selection of delegates by congressional conventions, failed to take any notice of the call or even put its stamp of approval on the so-called Omaha compact to abide by the rule of Chairman Butler, still we have ground for hope that Texas will not be altogether unrepresented at Cincinnati, that some delegates will be chosen by congressional conventions. In fact, it is the custom of Texas Populists to elect national convention delegates by congressional conventions and not by state convention, and so it would be quite in order for district conventions to choose delegates to Cincinnati even though the state convention refused.

Still the appeal was made to the state convention to choose delegates, and for aught we know at this writing the convention may have responded, though in candor we must admit that we hardly expect it has. The reaction from the stand of approval of the Omaha compact, a stand taken after the Omaha meetings and a reaction coming upon the breaking of the spirit of that compact by Chairman Butler has not yet had time to have full effect. But be this as it may, this reaction is very apparent, most encouraging to those working to revivify the Peoples party, and gives ground for the belief that Texas will be at least partially represented at Cincinnati.

As evidencing this reaction and growing sentiment in Texas to respond to the call for the Cincinnati convention we cite the characteristic and determined position now taken by W. A. Binyon, the editor of several influential Texas papers which we have already mentioned and one who was disposed, though somewhat fearfully, to place faith in the much heralded anti-fusion pledges made at Omaha and abide by the so-called Omaha compact. In the *Jacksboro Review* he points out that in the face of the record made by the Democrats, Populists cannot form an alliance or co-operate with them. To do so would be to co-operate with one's enemies, co-operate with the moneyed oligarchy for the enslavement of our people. And then he asks the question:

#### "What is Our Duty?"

"Shall we sit idly by and see this grand party led as a captive into the camp of the enemy? Shall we accept an armistice and rest upon our oars while the shrewd politician, the enemy within and without silently lead us under the name of 'honorable union,' into the Democratic party?"

"The *Review* had hoped that all was settled at Omaha, and was in favor of accepting the result as a fair settlement for all of our differences. But it has dawned upon us that the resolutions against fusion were not passed in good faith, nor accepted by Butler in good faith. It is stated that Mr. Butler has, since the Omaha meeting, standing in his paper, the *Caucasian*, propositions favoring fusion, one signed by Mr. Bryan and one by Marion Butler, Chairman Peoples Party Executive Committee. In this he does not carry out the wish as expressed in the resolutions. We had expected that after the Omaha meeting that Mr. Butler would cease his appeals for

fusion, but it seems that we are mistaken and are again the victims of misplaced confidence.

"As editor of the *Wise county Reformer, Graphic-Truth and Review*, we have in a measure withheld criticism of Mr. Butler, hoping that we could all get together on a line of policy, as we were one in principle. But the time has arrived, and is now when we must watch as well as pray. Through the siren song of the Bryan Democracy and the fusionists, true Populists are being lulled to sleep until the bands of fusion can be drawn around us, and in 1900 we will awaken only to fall in line and again assist the rotten hulk of Democracy to again crush out the only ship that promises to land the people safe into the harbor of a democratic government. . . . Under these circumstances and in the face of such facts, it is the duty of those who love the principle for which we have labored so long and faithfully, and have spent so much time and money, to gird on the armor anew and vow by the 'eternals' the Peoples party shall not die.

"Every state in the Union should elect delegates to the Cincinnati convention and there outline a policy for 1900. It is not necessary that nominations should be made, but nothing short of said convention will save the party from being merged into Bryan's 'cotton tail,' conglomerated mess of political pie biters.

"We hope that Jack county delegates to the state convention will see to it that delegates to the Cincinnati convention be elected and the party of the people saved from destruction.

"Along with Milton Park, Frank Burkitt, . . . and others of the tried and true we say, on to Cincinnati! On to victory!"

So much for Texas, so much for an answer to the question, Will Texans retreat? a question asked not only in Georgia, but by the true Populists of Minnesota, Iowa, Michigan, and other states of the North and Northwest, whom Texas Populists have appealed to in the past to not desert them and leave them to be trampled under foot by the Democracy, and who now, responding to the appeal, respond only to find themselves deserted by Texas in the self-sacrificing struggle against fusion which Texas called upon them to make. Thus we find true Populists in so-called fusion states appealing to Texas Populists to-day much as Texans appealed to them, and not in vain, a year ago. It is no longer Texas Populists asking Minnesota Populists to stand by them, but Minnesota Populists pleading with Texans to stand by them. Thus E. A. Twitchell writes in *The Representative*:

"Texas Populists are this year engaged in a most desperate struggle to redeem their state from Democracy. They are likely to succeed. Elated with their bright prospects of local success, a large number of Texas Populist papers have become indifferent to the fate of our party from a national standpoint. These papers, together with Mr. Tracy, of the *Southern Mercury*, have refused to encourage the Cincinnati convention of September 5th, and in some instances have opposed it. To our Southern brothers taking this position we would suggest that independent Populism in Texas would be but a mere side show if national Populism was allowed to die.

"Remember that the mid-road attitude of Texas Populists in 1896 and since has been a powerful factor in keeping up the courage and fight against fusion in the North. Minnesota, Illinois, Missouri, Maine, Tennessee, Georgia and other states have one by one pulled into line for independent action. The meeting for September 5th at Cincinnati has been called to crystallize this action into a reunited, reorganized national movement, a nucleus around which all the other states temporarily lost in fusion may gather. If Butler destroys national Populism, Texas Populism becomes a local state issue and reform is lost. Let Mr. Tracy stand by the call of his partner, Milton Park, realize that in the strength of the national movement lies the strength of individual states and with old time vim of Texans rally the hosts of Texas to the Cincinnati reunion. Minnesota will send a powerful delegation determined to do business along independent Populist lines in the interests, not of Minnesota alone, but in the interests of the great Southern empire as well. Let every Southern paper take up the cry—on to Cincinnati."

And while Twitchell thus pleads with Texans, Ignatius Donnelly calls upon Populists with all the vigor at his command to respond to the call for the Cincinnati convention as the only means to save the Peoples party. Georgia will be at Cincinnati come what may, uphold true Populism though she stand alone. Georgia refuses to desert the true Populists of Minnesota, Minnesota refuses to desert Georgia. Come what may

#### Minnesota Will Not Permit Georgia to Stand Alone.

Thus speaks Donnelly:

"When we meet, September 5th, at Cincinnati (there is where our party was born in 1891), we can stand with one finger on the electric key



that will explode the magazine, and so standing, we will force the resignation of Butler and the reorganization of the national committee, with every man on it a true and earnest Populist, or we will forever destroy their trading capital by putting up at once a national ticket and organizing a tremendous campaign to carry it through to victory.

"We must get this shirt of Nessus off the paralyzed limbs of our Hercules, or confess that we are less than men.

"Half-fares on the railroads are already arranged for. Let us send a tremendous delegation there, every man ready to fight and die, if necessary, for the preservation of the Peoples party."

Last week we named the states that might be expected to stand by Georgia and the call for the Cincinnati convention, send delegates to meet the Georgia delegation and join in a determined effort to save the Peoples party. They numbered but a dozen out of the forty-five, but now that such leaders as Watson and Donnelly, with all the force at their command, urge Populists to send delegates to Cincinnati we may fairly anticipate the response to become more general. We must at once add Oregon to the list. Indeed, the name of Oregon should have appeared a week ago, foremost among the list, for the Populists of Oregon were among the first to give their approval to the movement for the holding of the national convention of the Peoples party this year. John C. Luce, who ran at the head of the straight Populist ticket presented to the electors of Oregon and voted for last June, when Luce received 2,866 votes for Governor and the Populist candidate for State Treasurer full 2,000 more, or a vote equal to one-tenth of the Republican, writes us that the Populists of Oregon have already chosen delegates and will be represented at Cincinnati. The true Populists of California who refused to enter the fusion programme at the Peoples Party State Convention, held a few weeks ago, may also be expected to send delegates to Cincinnati.

#### No Faltering in Michigan.

But before we go further we have one more word to say with regard to the eloquent appeal of Georgia Populists appearing over the signature of Harvey Howard in the *Peoples Party Paper*, an appeal which we have already quoted. He speaks of the National Organization Committeemen from Michigan being among those petitioning Chairman Park to withdraw the call. And this we feel to be a mistake. We know it is a mistake so far as Mr. Zabel is concerned; we feel warranted in saying to Georgia that Michigan will not retreat, will not desert the banners of Populism while they are held aloft. In common with other national committeemen, Mr. Zabel did receive from Mr. Ferriss, of Illinois, a copy of a petition to Chairman Park, with the request that he sign it and forward it, but this was Mr. Zabel's response:

"I have your petition, etc., of Washburn *et al.*, and I want to say that I shall sign and endorse no such document, but on the contrary have and will urge Park to push the Cincinnati Convention with vigor. While I believe you and Washburn to be honest yet in my opinion you are the biggest pack of cowards I have ever had the pleasure to become acquainted with. You are more dangerous, so far as the life of the Peoples party is concerned, than Butler himself. He wants to gain time and you are doing his work for him. If you want to know how much you accomplished at Omaha read the *Caucasian*. You did nothing except to still more demoralize the party, and now you propose to kill it entirely. . . . You say you are afraid that it (the Cincinnati Convention and the ticket nominated) will not be regular. That is absolutely without any foundation. Each state selects its Presidential electors. Who certifies to their nominations in order to have them appear on the official ballot. Does Butler? No, it is the State Committees. Then what can he do? Nothing, except to openly join the Democratic party, where he belongs. We have a right to refuse to follow a traitor. Let us nominate our candidates September 5th, go home and let each state endorse our action and we have rid ourselves of the fusion traitors and our proceedings will stand the test of regularity in the courts. . . . I trust you will devote the balance of your time to recalling your own petitions and pushing the work for the September Convention, which is bound to be the most wonderful convention ever held by any political party."

#### On to Cincinnati and Victory.

We have already drawn this article out to somewhat ponderous length, but we have yet something more to say or rather

to let two others speak a word. And first we yield to Paul Dixon, of the *Missouri World*, whose determination and support of the Cincinnati convention has grown apace. Commenting on our editorial of two weeks ago, entitled "No Cincinnati Convention," and in which we expressed our fear that that convention could not be the success it should because of the lack of response on the part of Texas Populists, Mr. Dixon proceeds to say:

"But the few Populists leaders and editors of Texas who have accepted the action of the majority at the National Committee meeting recently held may not represent the sentiment of Texas Populists. Wait until the rank and file of the party are heard from. Let those who cast referendum ballots for this year be heard. . . . If the masses of the party are willing to permit fusionists to remain in charge of the party, under the resolutions adopted, then we suppose the Cincinnati call may as well be withdrawn. But let us hear from those who voted for a convention this year. They ordered the convention and they are the ones to recall it, if it is to be recalled. Let every one who voted for this year express himself as to whether the action of the National Committee is satisfactory; whether under the promises made the party can afford to remain in its present light before the voters of our own party and of the other parties whom we seek to convert. So far as the writer is concerned what he saw at the Omaha committee meeting last month only confirmed the necessity of some action being taken by the party at an early day to prove that the party is and will continue to be an independent party, an opponent of both the old parties and a supporter of all its principles; that it will have its own candidates for president and vice-president. We also believe that the only way we can prove that the Peoples party will have its own candidates is to nominate them and as it is important that the fact be established, not only to make it possible to gain recruits but to prevent the disintegration of the party the proof should be forthcoming at an early day. The writer has tried hard to convince himself that the action of the national committee ought to be accepted as final and that no further step should be taken until 1900; that no effort should be made to get the national committee to act sooner than 1900; that a convention should not be held at least as early as next spring to define the policy of the party and reorganize the national committee; the writer has tried to convince himself of these things but he cannot do it. Though he loves peace and harmony; though his nature is to submit upon all points except vital ones rather than to quarrel; though he would rejoice with exceeding gladness if all were united on party policy and that his efforts could be solely used in the work of education and organization; he feels that the reform movement is not safe in the hands of those who would ally themselves with that arch enemy of reform and progress, the Democratic party, and therefore advises further action."

Let the cry then be: On to Cincinnati and to victory, let the response to the call be hearty, let the Cincinnati convention, in the words of the *Peoples World* of Florida, and of Zabel, of Michigan, be made the most important meeting of the Peoples party ever held. Let heed be given to this appeal of the *Peoples World*, voicing the sentiment of Florida Populists:

"Let every state send a full delegation to this, the most important meeting of the party ever held. Send good, true, Christian Populists—not office holders or office seekers—and new life will be infused into the rank and file of the party."

Let it then be on to Cincinnati. It is the way to the revivification of the Peoples party, the way to the union of the forces of reform, the way to victory.

#### A CURSE UPON THE ANTHRACITE COAL FIELDS.

THERE was a time not very long ago when anthracite coal was used very largely in the eastern cities for manufacturing purposes. For steam making purposes it was very generally preferred to bituminous and was very generally used, not only because it was cleaner and more easily handled but for economical reasons. And doubtless there is still the same preference for anthracite but it is no longer economical to use it. Bituminous has displaced it in great measure in the factory, anthracite has been relegated to domestic use. And, of course, the demand has been greatly narrowed.

For many years the production and consumption of anthracite rapidly increased. In 1880, only 28,612,595 tons was mined in the Pennsylvania fields; by 1887, the production had increased



to thirty-five million tons; in 1889, to over forty millions; in 1891, to forty-five millions, and in 1895, the top notch of anthracite coal production was reached with a total production of 51,785,112 tons. Thus within sixteen years the production of anthracite had almost doubled, the demand for it had grown constantly. But contraction in demand and production in place of expansion has been the order of the last few years. In 1896, the production fell to 48,523,287 tons, of which 18,000,000 were mined in the first half of the year. In the half year closing with last June, the production is reported at only 16,000,000 tons.

And this contraction of demand has come rather from the substitution of bituminous coal under factory boilers than the drawing of the furnace fires, the closing of the factories that had made a demand for anthracite. Indeed, there are probably more fires under factory boilers to-day than there were in 1894, or '95, or '96. Production is more active to-day though prices are generally lower, though the profits on production have been shaved away until in many, we can safely say in most lines of manufacture, there is scarcely any margin of profit left.

The facts are that while consumption of anthracite has decreased the consumption of bituminous coal has increased, that bituminous has taken the place of anthracite in our Eastern factories as steam making fuel. And this has come about solely because it became the most economical fuel to use. The result is that the demand for anthracite has fallen and therewith its price at the mouth of the pits and the price of the miners' labor. And also has the price fallen at tide water but not so much as bituminous though the wages of bituminous miners were advanced a year ago to a very considerable extent over the wages ruling in 1894 and 1895; this as the result of a successful strike.

Be it remarked, however, that the strike failed in West Virginia, that it did not affect Virginia and that it is coal from the fields of those states, Pocahontas and Kanawha, that is now being pressed for sale with such vigor as to demoralize the coal markets to such an extent that anthracite coal only 100 miles from tide water is being displaced as a steam making coal by bituminous, carried 400 miles. But further be it remembered, that though the strike failed in West Virginia a year ago, so did the poorly organized strike of anthracite coal miners that culminated in the Latimer tragedy. So there seems to be no apparent change in the relative costs of producing anthracite and bituminous coal such as would explain the cheapening of bituminous and the displacing of anthracite as a steam making fuel.

Of course bituminous can be mined at less cost, ton for ton, than anthracite, but it is of less heat producing power and farther from the eastern markets, which latter reason, proximity to tide-water and market, has in years past quite sufficed to enable anthracite to hold its own as the factory coal of the east. But now, as we have said, and without apparent cause bituminous is displacing it. Bituminous is cheaper, yes, grown to be the cheaper for manufacturing purposes in the east, but why? for the relative costs of production of anthracite and bituminous have not undergone any violent change of late. And hereby hangs a tale.

It is that the railroads carrying bituminous coal to eastern markets, the Baltimore & Ohio and the Pennsylvania, aided by the very roads most interested in the prosperity of the anthracite coal industry, the Reading and the Lehigh Valley, have brought about this substitution, destroyed the market for anthracite for manufacturing purposes, broadened the market for bituminous. And how have they done this? Just after the manner that the cliques so systematically tear down and build up, wreck and reorganize; in a word by gross discrimination against those interests they would tear down, a lavishing of advantages in the shape of reduced freight rates on those they would build up. So has a curse been made to fall upon the anthracite coal fields, so is ruin being brought, curtailment of markets and serious loss being thrown upon the anthracite interests and, in part, by the very railroads whose welfare, whose future, whose success is bound

up with the development, the production of the anthracite fields.

So do we find railroads sacrificing the very interests that they should protect, cutting off their earnings by undermining, ruining the market for the products of those who give them their chief traffic. Though the anthracite coal fields have the natural advantage of near proximity to the eastern markets, the natural advantage of near the shortest haul from the mines to market, this advantage is absolutely neutralized by the railroads which have made the charge for the shorter haul of anthracite to market greater than their charges for the larger haul of bituminous. Thus the *Engineering and Mining Journal* tells us that the rates the anthracite roads charge for carrying it are from 1 to 1¼ cents per ton, per mile, while bituminous coal pays from ½ to ¾ of one cent. So we see that five times as much is charged for the carriage of anthracite as bituminous, that it costs no more to transport bituminous 400 miles than to transport anthracite 80, that bituminous coals that have to be carried 400 miles before they can be delivered to vessels at tidewater, actually pay less than anthracite, which is carried only from 90 to 170 miles. And so it is that bituminous coal brought 400 miles is displacing anthracite from coal fields only 90 miles from market, for the railroads have in effect reversed natural conditions, virtually brought the bituminous fields into closer proximity to market than the anthracite.

Thus by artificial advantages conferred on the bituminous fields have the anthracite coal fields been deprived of their natural advantages. This have the railroads done; thus have they brought down a curse upon the anthracite coal fields, thus have they brought ruin and losses, what purpose do they serve? Is it to ruin the anthracite coal miners, ruin the anthracite coal roads by stripping them of business or pave the way for cutting the wages of the miners under the plea of necessity and the pressure of poverty.

In any one or all of these ways the cliques directing the policy of the coal roads, the policy of strangling the anthracite interests and encouraging the bituminous, may reap profit. To wreck and despoil is their motto. By wrecking and building up, by grinding down labor, do they systematically gather unto themselves the fruits of the toil of the many. In the present instance by wrecking the anthracite interests they may build up the bituminous, by stripping the anthracite roads of traffic they may give increased traffic to the bituminous, by narrowing the market for anthracite, and the demand for labor in the anthracite fields they can bring impoverishment and swell the numbers of unemployed thereby rendering a successful strike against aggression almost hopeless and paving the way to a reduction of wages.

Thus do they work and reap profits meanwhile by manipulating the stock markets until even such a hide-bound paper as the *Philadelphia Press* is impelled to remark that "while most people in the movement (the attack on the anthracite coal roads), will be content if it affords an opportunity to cover their shorts at two or three per cent. profit, issues have been raised which might bankrupt everybody," bankrupt railroads, bankrupt anthracite coal producers. And this would merely open to the cliques more chances of profit, merely result in offering more wrecks for their picking. "The movement," adds the *Press*, "seems to be in the hands of iconoclasts, who act as if in the habit of attacking five hundred millions of capital before breakfast." And neither do they care what fortunes they may pull down, what savings sweep away, what wrecks may strew their path, so long as their own fortunes remain unbroken. Indeed, their very aim in life is to wreck that they may despoil, to break down others' fortunes without impairing their own to a greater extent than they can repair by picking up the wreckage that they make.

And this curse now resting upon the anthracite coal fields does not stop there. It pervades all industries, rests as a damper upon all enterprise, threatens to wreck railroads on the one hand



and despoil the small investor of his savings, and on the other to wreck industrial enterprises and deprive the producing classes of their earnings. The violent cutting of freight rates eats into the earnings of the railroads and makes worthless all calculations of profits based on the published rates. No man can tell when some one will be enabled to undersell him because of the enjoyment of some rebate, and thus bring loss in place of expected profit.

So there is uncertainty, the interests of railroad security holders are ruthlessly sacrificed by the managers that a favored few may profit, the interests of the business world at large are trampled upon to the same end. We again quote from the *Press* by way of emphasis: "The indiscriminate rate cutting, if not checked, will result in disaster to all lines, old and new, good and bad. The instability of rates and the discrimination practised under the present methods not only affects the railroads themselves, but undermines every commercial interest in the country. The time has come when this miserable and destructive business must stop. . . . The great majority of railroad managers in this country have demonstrated their unfitness for the business of conducting railroads, and one way or another they must be superseded, not only in the interest of the railroads, but by reason of the higher demands of public policy."

But in one thing have the railroad managers shown themselves adepts. They have shown great fitness for the conduct of the business of the railroads as preferential carriers, so as to wreck independent enterprises and build up trusts, so as to centralize the surplus wealth produced by the toil of the many in the hands of the few. From under their control the railroads must be taken, and there is just one way in which this can be successfully accomplished. That is for the government to assume the ownership and management of our railroads. When we are ready for this we may have an end to discrimination, the operation of our railroads as common carriers transporting the goods of all men on like terms, giving no man a preference over his fellows, insuring an equality of transportation services to all. We will not have an end to discrimination before, we will not have an end while we leave the management of the roads in the hands of those who profit by the discriminations they make, the favors they grant.

#### A DEFENSE OF RAILROAD DISCRIMINATION.

FROM New Orleans to Dallas, Tex., by rail is 512 miles, from Dallas to Kansas City, Mo., 484 miles, so that the distance from New Orleans to Kansas City by way of Dallas is 996. Yet the railroads that run from New Orleans to Kansas City by way of Dallas will carry freight all the way to Kansas City for just about two-thirds of what they charge for carrying freight to Dallas. Thus the rate on sugar per hundred pounds is 48 cents from New Orleans to Dallas, 30 cents to Kansas City, on coffee, 64 cents to Dallas, 35 cents to Kansas City, on iron articles 40 and 25 cents, on cotton goods \$1.20 and 66 cents, on rope in coil, 57 and 40 cents, on canned goods, 47 and 35 cents, on crockery and glassware 64 and 25 cents respectively. And so the rates run, save that on fruits and perishable articles, the rates to Kansas City approach very nearly the rates to Dallas, the railroads having an advantage in the transportation of such goods over the slower river routes and being as a consequence less subject to severe competition.

Briefly, however, the railroads charge less for carrying freight 996 miles, that is to say from New Orleans to Kansas City, than they do for carrying it 512, that is to say to Dallas. And the Interstate Commerce Commission has declared this to be fair. It amounts to very great discrimination in favor of Kansas City to be sure, it keeps Dallas at a disadvantage as a point for the distribution of goods as compared to Kansas City. But it was urged with

great force before the Interstate Commerce Commission and held by that commission that such disadvantage as that under which Dallas labors was a natural disadvantage, that the advantage that Kansas City had was wholly a natural one born of location, and that the railroads did not confer that advantage, but in making their charges lower to Kansas City from New Orleans than to Dallas, a shorter distance, simply recognized that advantage.

In fact Kansas City has water communication with New Orleans, and by water goods can be transported from New Orleans to Kansas City for less than the railroads charge for the transportation of the same kind of goods to Dallas, a much shorter distance. Therefore, if the railroads would carry freight between New Orleans and Kansas City they must accept it at the water rate. And this they do. Yet it is an undoubted fact that transportation by rail costs much more than transportation by water. And this the railroads urged as justification for charging higher rates from New Orleans to Dallas than to Kansas City which is nearly twice the distance, but to which rates are fixed by the water competition.

But it is fair to presume that the railroads would not carry freight to Kansas City from New Orleans at the water rate if they could not earn a profit from carrying it. Indeed, the railroads admitted that they derive a certain amount of profit therefrom. Therefore it is reasoned that the higher rates charged on the shorter haul to Dallas must be enormously profitable, that they are extortionate and should, as such, be reduced. But it is answered that if the railroads got no greater profit on their aggregate business than on their New Orleans-Kansas City freight traffic they could not keep up the condition of their roads or earn a fair return on their capital. And the New Orleans-Kansas City traffic adds, it is asserted, nothing appreciable to the cost of maintenance of the roadbed, that the extra cost of carrying such freight is no more than the mere cost of pulling it, indeed not so much as its carriage in many cases simply increases the weight of the trains that would in any event have to be made up for the handling of Dallas and other local traffic. To add to the tons of traffic in such case does not add proportionately to the cost of hauling. Therefore what little is earned by carrying this through traffic over the mere extra cost of hauling is available to meet charges for maintenance of road and interest that would have to be met anyway. Hence, if the railroads asked rates from New Orleans to Kansas City proportionately greater than the rates to Dallas, proportionately greater as the distance is greater, or nearly twice as much, instead of about two-thirds as much as they do, Dallas would be injured rather than benefited. And for these reasons:

First, demanding such rates the New Orleans, Dallas and Kansas City rail routes would get no freight to haul from New Orleans to Kansas City. All the freight would go by water or by other rail routes, several of which are, by the way, many miles shorter. And of course the water competition would keep down the rates so that Kansas City merchants would pay no higher freights than now on produce brought from New Orleans. In a word it is not the discrimination in favor of Kansas City by the Dallas rail routes that gives to the Kansas City merchants the advantage of cheap freight rates. That advantage is given by the river.

And in the second place, if the railroads did not have this traffic, and were deprived of the profit now derived therefrom, they would have the same costs of maintenance and the same fixed charges to meet as now. This would mean that from a smaller traffic the same sums would have to be earned as now, that the railroads would have to charge higher rates to Dallas merchants than now in order to provide the costs of maintenance, and earn a fair interest on their capital.

So it appears that the railroads are actually enabled to charge lower rates to Dallas because of their discrimination in favor of Kansas City, because of their carriage of freights to Kansas City



from New Orleans for a lesser rate than they charge for the carriage of freights to Dallas, not so great a distance by half. Here, then, is railroad discrimination that gives no just cause for complaint. We do not affirm that the rates now charged to Dallas are not extortionate. We are inclined to think that they are, though the Interstate Commerce Commission affirms that they are not but only sufficient, if sufficient, to earn fair interest on the capital of the roads. But this raises the question of how much of their capital is real, how much fictitious, how much represents actual investment of capital, how much mere water. Thus it is that a road earning a poor return on the nominal capital may be yielding very handsome returns on the real investment. And though we know little of the cost and capitalization of the roads in question we are inclined to the belief that they form no exception to the general rule of over-capitalization, that transportation rates seemingly fair in that they only yield a very moderate rate on the nominal capital are, as a matter of fact, extortionate.

But it is none the less a fact that Kansas City has the advantage of position over Dallas, that the rail routes from New Orleans to Kansas City by way of Dallas must accept traffic between New Orleans and Kansas City at the established water rates or withdraw from it altogether and that Dallas is in no way injured, but in truth benefited by the fact that they do accept it.

Where towns have a natural advantage of position they are entitled to its enjoyment, and it would be most unwise to seek to deprive them of it. To give to towns wherever situated and without regard to position the same advantages would be simply to rear up the artificial against the natural, and so turn trade into unnatural and wasteful channels. Thus, in the case of Dallas and Kansas City it might be possible to give Dallas the same advantages as Kansas City now possesses by cutting down freight rates to Dallas to an equivalent of those charged to Kansas City. It is very probable that at such rates the railroads could only be operated at a loss, and they could not long be so operated unless in some way some one was taxed to make up the loss. By taxing the whole community we might continue to so operate the roads without limit. But the result would be to merely turn trade from Kansas City to Dallas and trade that could be done at a smaller expenditure of labor from Kansas City, and therefore more advantageously than from Dallas. In short, we would be taxing ourselves to perpetuate waste.

The sort of discrimination in transportation rates that hurts is that which is born of artificial not natural conditions; not the sort that the railroads accept of necessity but the sort that the railroads make. It is the discrimination in freight rates between individuals, the discrimination in favor of towns having no natural advantage of position over the towns discriminated against that undermines industry, deprives the industrious of the fruits of their toil, centralizes the earnings of the many in the hands of the few. It is this discrimination that is artificial and that no man can foresee save those who make it that entails upon producers unavoidable losses, brings unmerited ruin to those outside of the cliques and undeserved gains to those who, controlling the artificial discriminations, have a foreknowledge of what localities, what enterprises are to be discriminated against and wrecked, what favored and built up and so are enabled to avoid losses by selling out interests in doomed enterprises and profit by buying up wrecked industries and investing in suffering localities that are to be made prosperous by discriminations in their favor whereas they have been made unprosperous by discriminations against them.

But the discrimination of the railroads against Dallas and in favor of Kansas City that we have passed in review and upon which the Interstate Commerce Commission has recently passed is not of this kind. It is discrimination that is not the voluntary making of the railroads, that is born of the natural advantages possessed by Kansas City because of its location on a water high-

way over which goods can be transported at less exertion, less expenditure of labor than over a railroad. In a word, the discrimination we have had in review is discrimination which the railroads are necessitated to make, discrimination that injures no one, that confers undeserved gains upon no one, that leads to the unmerited enrichment, direct or indirect of no railroad official, neither to the despoiling of the industrious for the profit of the cliques.

In making lower freight rates from New Orleans to Kansas City than to Dallas the railroads only offer to Kansas City the natural advantages which her position secures to her. Thus offering her merchants only what they can command there is no bribery of railroad officials necessary to get these lower rates. In offering these lower rates they offer no advantages not possessed and so they can demand no pay for what they offer. They must offer to carry freight at less than the published rates, at less than the water rates and so offer an advantage to be able to gather dishonest gains.

For aught we know there is such cutting of rates conferring upon the favored shipper an extra profit, an advantage over his competitors, and for which he pays by sharing it with the dishonest railroad official who confers such advantage at the expense of his railroad. But this does affect the fact that the discrimination upon which we have passed is no more than a recognition of natural advantages, and as such is not unjust but quite proper, not injurious but beneficial. What we should bear in mind is the distinction between discrimination born of natural advantages and discrimination that makes artificial advantages. The first is not contrary to a sound public policy, is not injurious, the latter is. The first it would be most unwise, injurious to interfere with, the second it is ruinous to tolerate.

## PEOPLES PARTY NOTES.

ON JULY 14th the Populists of California met in state convention at Sacramento. A fight was at once precipitated between the fusionists and straight Populists that ended in splitting the convention in twain and the nomination of two state tickets. The fusionists were bent on nominating for Governor, Congressman Maguire, whom it was understood the Democrats had picked out for their candidate and would duly nominate at their state convention. Indeed, assurance was given that Mr. Maguire was as good as nominated by the Democrats, that he had been chosen by common consent as their candidate, that the convention would have no more to do than to merely ratify that choice. The straight Populists put up as their candidate T. W. H. Shanahan, of Shasta, Mr. Dittmar, in presenting his name to the convention, declaring that the nomination of a Democrat would disrupt the Populist party. And so it proved. By a vote of 154 to 135 the fusionists carried their point and nominated Mr. Maguire. Thereupon the straight Populists bolted and put in the field a full state ticket headed by Mr. Shanahan as their candidate for Governor.

So there are two parties in California both claiming to be the Peoples party and asking for the suffrages of Populists. But one party asks this suffrage for a Democrat as candidate for Governor, the other for a straight Populist. Between a Democrat and Populist the Populists of California are called upon to choose. It is said that there are two Populist tickets, but there is only one Populist running for Governor.

IN Oklahoma Territory the Democrats have refused to fuse on the basis of returning a Populist to Congress. And they have had their way. The conventions of the Oklahoma Democratic, Populist and Silver Republican parties met in Oklahoma City two weeks ago, and after some bitter fighting in both Democratic and Peoples party conventions which resulted in a temporary bolt from the Democratic and permanent bolt from the Peoples party convention, resolved themselves into a joint convention for the nomination of Congressman in which Populists and Democrats were given each 160 votes and Silver Republicans 20, with the proviso that a two-thirds vote should be necessary for a choice. The temporary bolt from the



Democratic convention was only patched up by an assurance given by those who voted to go into the joint convention that they would "vote as a unit for a Democrat till doomsday or until he won." The Democrats then decided in caucus to throw their vote to Keaton. The Populists decided to give their vote to Callahan, the present representative of the Territory in Congress and a Butler Populist. And so there was a deadlock for many ballots. But finally the Callahan forces broke and on the seventy-fourth ballot Keaton was nominated.

So the Democrats had their way and forced the selection of a Democrat as the candidate for Congress of the fusion forces. And this though the Democrats are party No. 3 in the territory, the Populists party No. 2, that is, have the smallest vote, the smallest party following in the territory, the Republicans having the largest and the Populists the second. The prospects of a Republican victory are good.

At a meeting of the Sumner County Peoples party Executive Committee held at Gallatin, Tenn., Saturday, July 23, 1898, the following resolution, after full and careful consideration, was adopted.

WHEREAS: The Populists of Sumner County, Tenn., elected delegates to the Nashville Conference held in July, 1897, the result of which Conference was an Organization Committee, and

WHEREAS since the appointment of said Organization Committee by the Nashville Conference, we have looked to this Committee for guidance and help, rather than from the National Committee, of which Senator Butler is Chairman, whose policy has been to pull down the Peoples party, and not to build it up, we declare to-day that the Peoples party is without a National Chairman, that the party has been deserted by its leaders, and that the National Organization Committee at a recent meeting held at Omaha, Neb., called a convention of the Peoples party to be held at Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 5, 1898. Therefore be it

Resolved by this Committee, that if the Cincinnati Convention is held on Sept. 5th, or at any date later, it shall be the recognized convention of the Populists of this county, and delegates will be elected thereto, and that we renounce all allegiance to the Butler National Committee.

R. T. BUSH, Chairman.

J. R. WALLACE, Secretary.

GALLATIN, TENN., July 23, 1898.

THE Populists of the Second Congressional District, Missouri, are called to meet in delegate convention at Laclede, Mo., on Thursday, August 18th, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Congress, the election of one delegate to the National Convention which meets at Cincinnati, Ohio, September 5, 1898, and the selection of members to constitute the Congressional Committee for the ensuing two years.

#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

FAMILIAR LIFE IN FIELD AND FOREST. By F. Schuyler Mathews. Pp. 284. Illustrated. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.75.

GLADSTONE AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By Kerr Boyce Tupper, D.D., LL. D. Pp. 266. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. \$1.

HALF-HOURS WITH THE CHRIST. By Thomas Moses. Pp. 260. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 75 cents.

THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM. Rendered into English verse by Edward Fitzgerald. Pp. 75. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co. \$1.25.

THE STANZAS OF OMAR KHAYYAM. Translated from the Persian by John Leslie Garner. Pp. 79. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co. \$1.

FALLING PRICES AND THE REMEDY. By Lyman F. George. Pp. 231. Boston: George Book Publishing Co. \$1.

YE LITTLE SALEM MAIDE. A Story of Witchcraft. Pp. 321. Illustrated. By E. W. D. Hamilton. Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co.

MONEY AND PROSPERITY. By C. H. S. Littleton, M. D. Pp. 124. Philadelphia: Published by The Eastern Bimetallic League.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS publish "Social Elements," by Charles R. Henderson, Ph. D., Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago. The theme of the work centres around the public schools in the United States as an influence, and its aim is to furnish an intelligent basis for organized work among the different classes of society. Also "A Study of English Prose Writers," by J. Scott Clark, A. M., Professor of English in the Northwestern University. In this work the author treats of his subject for the most part through citations of the most authoritative published criticism.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

### The Laureate of Love, Wine and Fatalism.

*The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam.* Rendered into English verse by EDWARD FITZGERALD. With Fitzgerald's Life of Omar, and Notes; a biographical preface by M. Kearney and a fore-word by T. Williams. Philadelphia: H. T. Coates & Co. \$1.25.

*The Stanzas of Omar Khayyam.* Translated from the Persian by JOHN LESLIE GARNER, with Introduction and Notes. Same publishers. \$1.

Of making Omar books there is literally no end, so fierce is the lust for fame and so cheap the tricks to grasp a stray thread of its fringe. Second-hand originality seems to be the stock in trade of half the flight of carrier pigeons now circling in the nether empyrean of poetry by aid of borrowed eagle feathers. Poor old Omar's fragrant shade hobbles along the Elysian paths laden, like his countryman Sindbad, with a pile of poets on his shoulders, harder to carry than any Old Man of the Sea. He made his melancholy-merry verses to beguile the idle hours between scientific labor and the pleasures of the cup. He was born somewhere about 1030 and died in 1123. Seven hundred years and more his name and writings remained unknown to western dabbles in oriental poetry until quaint Fitzgerald resurrected him to an immortality which must make the grim old wine-soaked humorist chuckle as he tries to balance his partnership account therein with his translator. His fancies he had penned on rose leaves, not without desire for lasting praise, though well he knew that rose leaves perish; still—who knows but what their scent may cling to some wafting cloudlet and carry over seas and centuries before it dies? Silly whim!

The worldly hope men set their hearts upon  
Turns ashes—or it prospers, and anon,  
Like snow upon the desert's dusty face,  
Lighting a little hour or two—was gone.

So went Omar's quatrains and with them the old astronomer-philosopher's poetical ambition. A lucky gust blew the shriveled leaves in at Fitzgerald's window, the wizardry of his odd genius brought back the old juices, the wine-red glow and the blended bouquet of Naishapur grapes and roses. Old Persian Omar is born again an English poet in this queer transmogrification, or if not that, English poetry finds its picture gallery enriched by a pleasing Siamese-twin combination, perfectly harmonious in spirit and taste. So strange a thing is the fate of a thought, an effort, a hope, given up in despair as dead; the touch of sympathy can wake it to glorious life.

If Omar has bred a tribe of devotees, Fitzgerald has created a host of imitators of his own rich English rendering of the quatrains. His still towers high over all other attempts to preserve the flavor and pithiness of their joint achievement in philosophic verse. There is only one Omar and Fitzgerald is his prophet. There are many printings of the *Rubaiyat* and we incline to give the palm to this Philadelphia edition as excelling in all the qualities most to be desired by the lover of Omar, and lacking the impertinences which afflict a good many other editions. Here is the happiest co-operation between the art-printer and art-binder, a book that gladdens one to look at and handle for its own sake. Its exquisite antique cast enriches the contents, and these are varied as well as rich. Two versions, the first and fourth, of the quatrains are given, Fitzgerald's sketch of Omar, Michael Kearney's sketch of Fitzgerald, with apt selections from Tennyson, Gosse, Graham R. Tomson, and the artist W. Simpson, these complete an ideal book without the overwrought "fore-word and fore-plea" of T. Williams. This might be helpful but that its affectations and strainings after eccentricity as a substitute for style disincline the reader to labor after its valuable information. Alliteration reaches its top notch in this sentence, "the flitting forties as they fade into the fifties are fruitful in all lands of such fate." The writer is far from intending to amuse, even when condemning his own effusion with the Persian poetry it describes as "smothered under its own riches, its muse overwhelmed by a Tarpeian gift of metaphor, betraying the virgin citadel of style to win the treacherous prize of popular praise."

By judicious skipping of un-Omarian ingenuities of verbiage the reader of this otherwise wholly admirable book has, as we have already remarked, an ideal edition which will yield increasing delight. Fitzgerald was as unique a character as the cheery pessimistic Omar. He was born in Ireland in 1809, the natal year of Tennyson and Poe. His Cambridge associates were Thackeray, Tennyson, Spedding and other men of genius. Hav-



ing a private fortune Fitzgerald indulged his love of an idle life, that of a scholarly recluse, hating publicity, diverting himself with literary work which might have gained sure fame. This was how he picked up his easy command of the Persian tongue, which struck his peculiar fancy. Then, finding in Omar an oddity like himself, a pundit given to intellectual frivolities and holding loose agnostic views against the orthodoxy of his day, Fitzgerald found his true life work in dressing Omar's orientalisms of thought and phrase in modern English of his own adaptation. Omar's verses were found in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. They have been transmuted into the finer quatrains all men credit as much to the genius of their translator as to that of their originator, and rightly so. Fitzgerald improved the metre, made free with his text and availed himself of the utmost latitude of style and words, yet with so faithful an adherence to his author's quality that the literalists are amazed.

The adventures of his little book match the singularity of the man, who was unconventional in everything. Fitzgerald made a free gift of it to Bernard Quaritch, the famous second-hand bookseller, to be published anonymously at five shillings. This was in 1858. For nine years it laid on the shelves, only one copy sold. Then it was pitched into the rubbish box at one penny a copy. A few notable men got hold of copies, Rossetti was one, and there was a rush for it. The edition of two hundred was exhausted, and a second was issued in 1868. A fourth appeared in 1879, and when Fitzgerald died in 1883 he had achieved not only a personal fame as enviable as it was unsought, but he had wielded an influence on philosophic thought and poetic style far greater than any that fall to the mere translator. His turn of mind suited the rising tide of speculative theology or rationalism, but this alone would not have lifted the Rubaiyat out of the heap of rationalistic poetry books if the spell of Fitzgerald's genius had not given new radiance to Omar's simple and disconnected stanzas. Mr. Garner's version first saw the light in Milwaukee. It is one among versions by other translators who claim to give a more literal rendering, thereby showing, as he justly remarks, how great is the debt we owe to the poetic gift of Fitzgerald, the inimitable. The student will enjoy Mr. Garner's book, for it has many merits, modestly put forth. The name of James Thomson, of *The City of Dreadful Night*, is wrongly spelled Thompson on page 41. For the reader who wants no more than the one perfect work, these first and fourth versions by Fitzgerald are all sufficient and they are not overplastered with other men's annotations.

Another group of Omar parasites—using the word in no offensive sense—are writers who persist in expounding his philosophy. He is a bold man who ventures to put a spigot into great men's minds and professes to draw a rarer vintage than that they themselves purvey. Theological literature is largely made up of what fussy little interlopers wish us to accept as divine truth because it has had the advantage of passing through their fallible filters. Cowper's noble hymn runs, "God is his own interpreter, And he will make it plain." Our learned commentators wish to revise this by substituting each his own name for the second word of the last line, "But ——— must make it plain." Omar's improvers may go on till doomsday flourishing their finds as brand new discoveries, playing off his secret scepticism against his open piety, and illuminating his sunshine with their electroplated dark lanterns. It is all highly entertaining when we happen to be in too idle a mood to dally with Omar himself. The best commentary on Omar's philosophy is *Ecclesiastes*, if any workaday folk ever look into a certain Old Book for recreative tonic or other than "Sunday reading." The courtier poet paid court to great Mahmoud, but most scrupulously also to conventional orthodoxy and its Pharisaical observances, while his inner man smiled at the mask worn outside.

Alike for those who for To-day prepare,  
And those that after some To-morrow stare,  
A Muezzin from the Tower of Darkness cries,  
"Fools, your reward is neither Here nor There."

Myself when young did eagerly frequent  
Doctor and Saint, and heard great argument  
About it and about : but evermore  
Came out by the same door where in I went.

We are no other than a moving row  
Of magic shadow-shapes that come and go,  
Round with this sun illumined lantern held  
In midnight by the Master of the Show.

But helpless pieces of the Game He plays  
Upon this chequer-board of nights and days,  
Hither and thither moves, and checks, and slays,  
And one by one back in the closet lays.

The Ball no question makes of Ayes and Noes,  
But here or there as strikes the Player goes ;  
And He that toss'd you down into the field,  
He knows about it all—He knows—He knows !

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#### The Stained-Glass Window Gladstone.

Gladstone, and Other Addresses. By KERR BOYCE TUPPER. Philadelphia : American Baptist Publication Society. \$1.

The writer of these biographical and denominational addresses is a prominent minister of high degrees. In these he discourses upon Luther and Knox, Baptist literature and effort, and the immigration problem. The lecture on Gladstone dates from 1894, but it makes the only taking title for an otherwise unattractive book, except that the publisher's share in making it deserves the highest praise. After a careful reading of the Gladstone lecture we are left wondering why it was printed, or if that was to be, why it was not held back until the author could avail himself of the larger judgment of those who have first-hand knowledge of the great Commoner and are now publishing their tributes. Dr. Tupper challenges criticism by putting forth in this pretentious form a lecture which probably seemed to have some weight in the eyes of the youths before whom it was spoken. There is no objection to any one giving a lecture on so vast and many-sided a topic as Gladstone, if he adheres to safe generalities, and the language of eulogy. The average church parlor lecture keeps within these limits and wisely so. Dr. Tupper begins well, he makes no pretence to a detailed or critical study, he sets up his idol on the altar and commands unreasoning homage by bluntly proclaiming him the greatest, grandest, most perfect being of the age. This sort of lecture we have all been familiar with in our salad days. It is understood by even the meekest listeners that liberal discounts are allowed off this class of platform goods and so little or no harm is done. But a printed panegyric is read in cold blood and may fall into the hands of readers who expect even clerical lecturers to "reason together," "prove all things" and hold fast only to that which is truly balanced. Dr. Tupper is fond of quoting "a gifted writer" and other unnamed eulogists, depriving his hearers of their right to judge for themselves the weight of these doubtful authorities. Where these shower adulation in superlatives they are endorsed by Dr. Tupper, but when Thomas Carlyle pricks one of the bubbles thus frothed up he is dismissed as a "poor old growler." If growls at "numerous cants of the age" are wicked or merely spiteful, what becomes of the Old Testament prophets and the Sermon on the Mount? Gladstone's singularly erroneous notion that our Constitution was "struck off at a given time by the brain of man," does not strike Dr. Tupper as anything short of an inspired utterance. He gives several pages of "main facts" and statistics of finance which he will assuredly admit are nothing better than *ex parie*, superficial, and therefore misleading half-truths, which ought not to be thrust upon any audience unfurnished with the means, and possibly the aptitude, to test them. A little research into easily available materials will enable Dr. Tupper to revise these pages for his next edition in the interest of the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Public teachers must be held to this obligation. Why has not Dr. Tupper specified which of the public measures enumerated to Gladstone's glory were originated by him, and which were resisted by him until the eleventh hour. In his untempered laudation of Gladstone's "heroic," etc., share in the Eastern Question troubles, Afghan and Zulu wars and the Alabama claims, why does Dr. Tupper conceal the deplorable facts, hard, indelibly recorded historical facts, which exhibit his demi-god as a failure in statesmanship, the maker of wanton and futile wars, the cause of hurtful and useless political conflicts at home, and the enthusiastic advocate of the South against the North in our Civil War? Why does Dr. Tupper carefully suppress the pitiable story of General Gordon's martyrdom? Why, when he glorifies Gladstone as a friend of religious liberty, does he suppress all reference to his hero's virtual Catholicism, and to his efforts, only two or three years ago, to induce the Pope to admit the English Church within his fold? Why omit the interesting fact that his own brother Baptists in England, discovering late in the day, that their supposed Moses was a friend of Pharaoh, openly repudiated him as a Jesuit in disguise? Dr.



Tupper feels safest of all in exalting his hero as "always pleading for truth against falsehood." In private life Gladstone shone as the ideal of honor in all things, but in practical politics diplomacy is a fine art, and confessedly the late political leader was the supreme expert of the age. What does Dr. Tupper say to this illustration of Gladstone as a pleader for truth? At the close of one of his famous Midlothian speeches in 1879 a working man put the question, "How am I to answer my Tory employer if he asks me whether I voted for you?" The ballot is secret, but the man anticipated a leak. Gladstone made this public answer. "Sir Walter Scott, when he was asked whether he wrote the Waverley novels, said, 'No. I did not, and if I had written them I should have made you precisely the same answer.' Now (continued Gladstone) I do not think anyone can say that a person who gave that answer was guilty of any act of deceit. I do not see myself how you can object to it." Dr. Tupper contributes one original and one delightfully apocryphal item to his fanciful lecture. The former is this reply to a letter he addressed to Gladstone in 1893: "All I think, all I hope, all I write, all I live for is based upon the divinity of Jesus Christ, the central joy of my poor, wayward life." The latter is this supremely ridiculous invention of some conscienceless poker of fun at the Grand Old Man and his blind idolaters. "It is the man Gladstone who, when on one occasion the Queen said to him, 'Sir, remember I am the Queen of England!' replied with dignity and firmness, 'Madame, remember who I am! I am the People of England!'" After this we forgive everything.

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#### An Introduction to Inanimate Nature.

*Nature for its Own Sake.* First Studies in Natural Appearances. By JOHN C. VAN DYKE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

In looking over the lists of books that have appeared during the last two years remark will be made of the large number relating in one way or another to nature. There may seem to be little significance in this fact, but it has a meaning and a much deeper one than appears on the surface. It indicates that attention has turned to a study of nature, and, which is of greater moment, that as the reading public become more familiar with natural objects interest in them has vastly increased, and so also the desire to become better informed regarding them. We cannot but feel that this will prove a healthy leaven, far-reaching and beneficial in its results, for all who happily lift their eyes to nature and once learn for themselves what measureless pleasure is there, will be led on unconsciously to a clearer understanding of it all and to find not only beauty for the eye, diversion and rest for the weary brain, but peace and comfort from the troubles of life. Nature is a wonderful cure-all, and few are the ailments of body, mind, or heart that will not yield to her beneficent treatment. But to derive the fullest benefit it is necessary to get into sympathy with her. This can be done in innumerable ways, but perhaps the best and certainly the easiest way is to accept the guidance of some one who has already entered the field. Therefore are such books as this to be heartily welcomed. They introduce us, quicken our senses and observation, and in so doing render an invaluable service.

Prof. Van Dyke takes up a side of nature that has not received the attention it deserves. He writes with the knowledge of one who has travelled widely with open eyes and who has given close study to what he has come across, and in the happy strain of one possessing a keen appreciation of beauty wherever found. His object in writing this book has been "simply to call attention to that nature around us which only too many people look at every day and yet never see, to show that light, form and color are beautiful regardless of human meaning or use, to suggest what pleasure and profit may be derived from the study of that natural beauty which is everyone's untaxed heritage, and which may be had for the lifting of one's eyes." With this and the further understanding that "the book is designed as an introduction," its scope is apparent and we can proceed to the contents. Here a veritable panorama is gradually unfolded; we look upon heaving sea and tranquil lake, mountain peak and rolling plain, broad river and babbling brook, deep forest and arid desert, and over all the sky and clouds. All are clearly shown and more than superficially, in fact each is taken up, carefully considered as to its characteristics, features and peculiarities, and viewed as a part of the grand whole. Besides—and this is the predominant feature of the book—lights and colors, and their varied effects on land, sky, clouds, water, etc., are particularly described, and in speaking of them Prof. Van Dyke grows eloquent.

In a word, the volume is replete with interesting facts presented in a way to make them doubly attractive to the generality

of readers. Without being scientific, science is drawn upon to explain natural phenomena; covering somewhat the same ground the physical geography does, only with greater depth and without any of the schoolbook air, the author has produced a work that is substantial, instructive, enjoyable. He carries his readers across the seas, from the Hudson to the Danube, from the snow capped Alps to parched Sahara, from Italy to California, and, having shown them the sights of the world, brings them home wiser and more contented in the knowledge that "the unusual in nature is not by any means the most enjoyable," and that the place to find the truest happiness is "in your own heart and home." The reader of this book, which makes an excellent introduction for a fuller study of what it treats, should bear in mind that while lights and color effects play a part not easily comprehended nor readily appreciated, that they are still but factors, although chief ones, and that alone they would be equally as discordant as any of the other elements in nature which together produce a result that is always perfectly harmonious. Where reference is made to heat-lightning, so-called, we should have expected an explanation of what it is that would have corrected the quite common misunderstanding of the phenomenon. We note a little slip on p. 186, Mt. Blanc being nearer three than five miles high.

#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*Cornell Stories.* By JAMES GARDNER SANDERSON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

College undergraduates and college alumni owe a debt of gratitude to Charles Scribner's Sons for giving to them and to the reading public a series of books dealing with our representative colleges. We take it that it is their intention to present us with several more books of this character dealing with our other colleges and universities. Very recently we noticed "Princeton—Old and New," and now we have before us these "Cornell Stories." Both of them must awaken in our people a greater desire for a college education, which should mean a higher education. This is the real value of this kind of book. It is not our intention to take up for discussion anything but the book at hand and we will not enter into the advantages or disadvantages that follow from a higher-college education. We can well leave that discussion to the college man for solution, assured that he will ably advocate and demonstrate the many and untold advantages.

Mr. Sanderson puts before us Cornell University. He describes Cornell and Cornell customs through the medium of the short story, or to be more literal, short stories, and imaginary characters, and what is more to the point he does so in a manly and interesting way. Cornell and Cornell men are just about like any other college and college men, and while this little book must appeal with particular strength to the Cornellian, yet that does not prevent any college graduate who may chance to read these stories from being carried back to the good old days in the college of his choice and again live over the old life. No one but a college graduate can appreciate or feel how the true college man loves his "Alma Mater," and how his heart grows young again when recalling the college and the college days of his youth. Mr. Sanderson is a true representative college man and writes in a straightforward way. His two stories, "One Who Didn't" and "One Who Did," describing the feelings of an unfortunate who did not graduate from "Old Cornell" and those of the man who did, but yet was for the time almost heartbroken at the end of his college days, is true to life and appealing. In these two stories our author shows himself to be an interpreter of the human mind and heart of no mean ability. Our one regret with this little book is that it could not have given us one chapter describing Cornell, her history past and present, her buildings and grounds, her professors and instructors, etc. It would seem to us that it would have made the stories more natural to the reader who does not happen to be a Cornellian, and at the same time the stories would have relieved a short description of the university of all possible dryness.

\*.\*

*The World Beautiful.* Third series. By LILIAN WHITING. Boston: Roberts Brothers. \$1.

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grandmothers in their youth. Poetry, mysticism, fantastic philosophy, scraps of science and grains of excellent common sense are raked together from all points of the compass and harmonized by very pretty play of what goes as spiritualized preaching. Spiritualistic reasoning has the elasticity of air and is as elusive to the grasp. To compare it to poetry would be absurd, except to such—and they are many—as mistake the flighty for the elevated. Pulpit preaching is muscularly logical by contrast with the Will-o'-the-wispish vagueness of this kind of wandering thought which appears to lead upward and onward only to get lost in the gloaming. The trouble is as great to fix the authorship of these roving fancies as to settle their intended conclusions, for Miss Whiting seems to be quoting almost everybody on almost everything. Authorship comes easy on these lines, but it is not every scrap-book compiler who can find sympathetic buyers. The first chapter, or paper, is on the Seen and Unseen; what we see is a brave array of platitudes sandwiched between quotations from St. Paul, Whittier, Tyndall, Trowbridge, Mancini (on wireless telegraphy), Crookes, Roentgen, Lowell, Huggins, Mrs. Somerville, Emerson, Alcott, Kate Field, Julia Howe, "the great Cardinal Gibbons," Annie Besant, Darwin, not to mention the goodly number of unnamed writers from whom much of the original matter has been gotten up. All these names packed into eighteen short pages of powerful original philosophizing! Miss Whiting, we are told, is a brilliant journalist, which goes far to explain her aptness in pressing any and every striking expression met with in one's daily reading into the service of her book, as chapter or page headings. It is a shrewd device and impresses the lowlier minds of the less widely read. "The Rose of Dawn" is a sweet thing in headings, especially for profundities on spiritist manifestations of which these are examples; "man is a complex organism . . . mental phenomenon can be and is manifested in a great variety of ways between those persons still in the physical body . . . We are primarily spiritual beings, expressing immortal energies through the medium of physical things. . . . Who has not his hours of exhilaration and exaltation? And other hours when he is far below this condition." This precedes twenty pages of the late Kate Field's interview with spirits through the toy called Planchette twenty-five years ago. We have listened to trance speakers in seances, illiterate, devoid of original thought, but memorizers of other people's truisms like actors, who have poured forth these identical pages of Miss Whiting's by the hour in one long, weak, wishy-washy flood.

\*.\*

*A Runaway Couple.* By OLIVER LOWREY. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 75 cents.

"He was a raw country young man . . . she was an active, handsome, healthy, sinewy girl. Reared, both of them, in the austerity of the Calvinistic faith in a typical American village, they went to church and Sunday school and attended the church sociable. Such was the austerity of their faith that they almost thought it wrong to love each other. But she taught him better. Both were reared to consider it wrong to dance but she taught him the waltz as he clasped her waist on a rock on a hill back of the village." Her name was Kate, the usual name of this type of girl in novels, who may surely be reckoned on to elope with some limp specimen of male humanity. This Kate welcomed an unusual share of adventures in search of wedded bliss and the telling of them carries the reader through the maze of New York society as the author views it.

\*.\*

*Our Lady of the Sunshine.* An illustrated midsummer annual. Toronto, Canada: George N. Morang. 25 cents.

Kipling apostrophized Canada as "Our Lady of the Snows." This seems to have been too chilly a compliment to please her ladyship, or her other ladyship the Countess of Aberdeen thinks it one-sided, as she contributes a short paper whose heading is also used as that of this pleasing annual. It may be described as a literary and artistic exhibit, testifying to the intellectual and physical qualities of Canada. Charms would scarcely be too flattering a word, judging from the views of scenery, the glowing descriptions of social pleasures, the half-dozen colored reproductions of paintings by native artists, and the clever writings of native contributors, representing every class of the community, from half-blown knights to mere artists and authors. We understand the Annual is quite an innovation in the Canadian literary field and it is really a very formidable boom for the land of sunshiny snows, and only pardonable patriotism prompts the hope that its arts will not allure too many good Americans to swell its population.

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### ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

The book of the Littery Chappies, otherwise known as *The Chap Book*, has died in the arms of the *Dial*, both of Chicago. Peace to its chapfallen ghost. If, instead of donning the old clothes of its English forefathers, its promoters had given it an American name and had run it on American lines, they might have been proud of it. Its faults were those of giddy, go-ahead youth, a weakness for flashy superficialities and style without substance. The pity is that our "smart" journalism breeds this kind of "brilliant" writing. Some admirable essays, now gathered into books, first saw the light in the *Chap Book*, and many a bright bit of criticism found lodgment in its hospitable pages when those of the conventional periodicals would have gone blank rather than admit such dangerous stuff. Its short but lively life illustrated some of the perils of free lance journalism, and its painless death points one or two comforting morals.

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The *Critic* henceforth draws its breath monthly instead of weekly. As a literary organ it played too few tunes too regularly and showed tendencies to grind out dance music for a few when the outer public would have preferred a bolder programme. Whether the monthlies can be made much weaker than they are is an open question. So long as buyers and advertisers abound readers don't particularly count. The magazine trade is a mystery from the literary point of view.

\*\*\*

When the dailies began to issue Sunday supplements the death-knell was sounded for many a so-called literary weekly. Papers like the *New York Tribune* and *Times* now issue genuinely literary supplements of convenient form and size. Each number gives as much varied reading of high quality as is furnished by the average magazine, excepting long fiction. If papers like these continue to improve this department we may expect a good many monthlies to take on new features, or take themselves off.

\*\*\*

Elizabeth Lynn Linton died in London on July 14, aged 76. She was the wife of the late W. J. Linton, the famous engraver, who left her and came to America thirty years ago. They were a remarkable pair, each too cantankerous for married life though they agreed at a distance. She was decidedly one of the most powerful writers of our day, richly learned, witty, wise in worldly ways, but her gift of fierce satire seems to have militated against her rightful fame. Better to be loved than feared, if one's living depends on one's pen.

\*\*\*

John Morley is after all not going to be Gladstone's biographer. This is good news, as he is utterly unfitted for that most delicate of all literary tasks. The life of Disraeli, who died in 1881, is yet unwritten, though as a subject he is much easier and more tempting than his famous rival and his "remains" sparkle with all sorts of gems. They are already bewailing the ponderosity of Gladstone's letters and reported speeches, which afford no hopes of making popular reading. The biographies of these two giants of politics ought to appear simultaneously, then the interest of each will be doubled. It is said that Mrs. Craigie, the American-born writer of novels and essays, is to write Beaconsfield's life. She will make a bright book, but only a lifelong friend and political follower of that extraordinary man can give us his biography. Several fit persons can be named and one of them should be urged to take up the duty without delay.

\*\*\*

This will be a fascinating book, "Studies of a Biographer," by Leslie Stephen, to be published early in September by G. P. Putnam's Sons. The work will be issued in two volumes and covers such subjects as "National Biography," "The Evolution of Editors," "John Byron," "Johnsoniana," "Gibbon's Autobiography," "Arthur Young," "Wordsworth's Youth," "The Story of Scott's Ruin," "The Importation of German," "Matthew Arnold," "Jowett's Life," "Oliver Wendell Holmes," "Life of Tennyson," and "Pascal."

\*\*\*

Horace E. Scudder withdraws from the editorship of the *Atlantic Monthly*. The new editor is Walter H. Page, formerly of the *Forum*.

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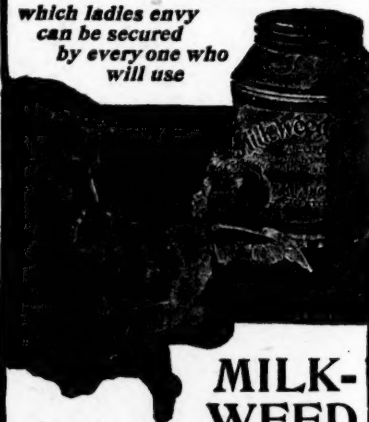


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